DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 103 354 SP 008 959

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TITLE	Teacher Behavior and the Presentation of a Work Ethic.
PUB DATE	28 Feb 75
NOTE	26p.; Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Educational Research Association (Washington, D.C., 1975)
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EDRS PRICE	MF-$0.76 HC Not Available from EDRS. PLUS POSTAGE
DESCRIPTORS	*Behavior Patterns; *Elementary School Students; Institutional Role; Noninstructional Responsibility; Reinforcement; *Student Attitudes; Student School Relationship; Student Teacher Relationship; Teacher Attitudes; *Teacher Behavior; *Work Attitudes

ABSTRACT

This study examines what teachers do in classrooms and what their behavior says to students. Four fourth-grade self-contained classrooms in two schools in Albuquerque, New Mexico formed the sample group. Intensive classroom observation was employed over a ten-month period. At least half the observation time involved the researcher's presence in the classroom for the entire school day; the remainder was done in three-to four-hour blocks. Data included interviews with teachers on their teaching goals, a questionnaire to students on the norms they perceived their teachers to emphasize, and hand-recorded chronicles of teacher behavior. Results of the study attested to the existence of norm-reinforcing behavior and documented the way such behaviors are distributed. Behaviors representing all but one of the work norms accounted for over 50 percent of the noninstructional talking emitted by teachers, despite great variations in teaching styles. There were task, order, time, and authority norms thought to be rooted in the institutional requirements of school life and which could not, therefore, be circumnavigated by teachers. (Additional findings are included.) (MJM)

ED103354

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February 28, 1975

I.D. #G-14

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Teacher Behavior and the Presentation of a Work Ethic

This paper concerns itself with what teachers do in classrooms and what their behavior says to school children. Research in this genre has often been termed "hidden curriculum" research; researchers have described the hidden curriculum variously as an expression of institutional racism, as teacher expectations, (Leacock, 1969) as middle class bias, (Friedenberg, 1970) and institutional constraints, (Jackson, 1968) and so on. Depending upon one's viewpoint, the concept of a hidden curriculum can be reprehensible, or simply a reflection of reality. What this study tried to do was two fold: first, to determine which norms seemed to be expressed most consistently in elementary school classrooms, and second, to delineate how they were expressed.

In order to do this, several assumptions were made. First, I felt that the school did possess some common denominator of expectations for student behavior. There are a number of reasons for this. The first reason is that the employees of schools tend toward a commonality of outlook as to what is appropriate behavior for school life. This is at least in part because they share common socio-economic origins and aspirations. Also, the school as an institution is organized in such a way as to demand certain rigidities of behavior simply to function. Bells ring as signals to move; lines form for crowd control; the schedule

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exists for efficient use of space. Finally, the school as a socializing agency has the task of transmitting to the future generation of adults certain attitudes and skills which are useful for and generalizable to their performance in public life. Underlying these statements, of course, is Durkheim's view that the school is a mirror, embedded in society and reflecting it; teachers are the vehicles by which a good portion of the transmission is effected. Therefore, one might expect to find out what was important in a society, or at least in some aspects of a society, by focussing on what teachers emphasize.

The second assumption was that in order to find a hidden curriculum you have to look for it. One of the defining characteristics of the hidden curriculum is that it is not explicit, or is at a subliminal level of consciousness for practitioners. As such, teachers and students may not be able to report on its existence with great facility. The researcher, than, needs to move into the classroom and observe systematically what occurs. At the time of this study, little systematic naturalistic observation of classrooms had been done, although significant guidelines had been laid in this direction by the work of Louis Smith, (Smith and Geoffrey, 1968) Phillip Jackson, (Jackson, 1968) and a few others. Their lead was followed; non-participant observation was chosen as the appropriate mode for studying the actual normative emphasis in classroom activities.

Preliminary observations were made over a period of several

months in a variety of elementary classrooms to see if there were any commonality among teachers in the norms they emphasized. What emerged from the pilot study was the heavy task orientation of schools, even at the elementary level. The schools are workplaces for children, just as factories, offices, or laboratories are for their parents; the norms for behavior in school do not differ too widely from those required on the job. Thus, though teachers may have varying classroom styles, they resembled each other in that they had all placed great importance on a set of norms which I have called a work ethic. These were norms closely related to the task and quality control aspects of school life, and they were conveyed in great part through the medium of teacher behavior. They included:

1. responsibility
2. time orientation
3. orderliness
4. task orientation
5. achievement

The responsible worker -- or student -- is one who lives up to the expectations of those in authority, and who follows the rules of his role. Responsibility has dimensions other than conformity; however, I felt that schools might also train students for decision-making and self direction. Thus, initially, responsibility was defined in two ways -- as acceptance of authority and as the development of personal autonomy.

The time orientation of schools forced students to recognize that things must be done not because students wanted to do them, but because the schedule requred that they be done. In modern society, the pace, periodicity, and regularity of the work day must be learned; time is divided into discrete segments for which there are appropriate and inappropriate activities. Further, time can be viewed as a resource to be used wisely. Schooling also is cyclical, dividing time into five work days and two play days; the days also are divided into time for work, for play, and for refreshment. (Dreeben, 1968) There also was a great emphasis by teachers on the proper use of time.

Emphasis on orderliness seemed related to the stress on task orientation and keeping busy. A prerequisite for activity in classrooms seemed to be that noise and movement be regulated, even kept to a minimum. Similarly, the existence of noise and movement frequently was taken as indication that students were not keeping busy. In western society, keeping busy has become a measure of a person'w worth; he who does nothing is nothing. Keeping busy, or working, becomes a virtue in itself, such that even enjoyment must be earned in the service of something else which is "worthwhile". Schools stress this virtue; they also manipulate guilt and shame in this area both as a means of social control and academic evaluation. A dull student who works hard, for example, may be evaluated as highly by a teacher as a brilliant but erratic one.

Internalization of the school's achievement standards also seemed important in classrooms, not so much in terms of students developing in a high need for achievement, but in their acceptance of teacher

evaluations of their work. This seemed crucial, because one of the hallmarks of modern society is that it evaluates people and gives status to them largely on the basis of their academic and occupational achievement. A child's place of work is the school; how well and how much he does in school tasks may also determine where he winds up in the labor market. Since it is his place of work and the major arena for evaluation, it also affects how he thinks of thimself in general.

Following the definition of the above work norms, a list of behavior by which teachers reinforced them was developed. This may be found in Appendix A.

The study included four fourth grade self-contained classrooms in two schools in Albuquergue, New Nexico. One school was located in an almost rural, largely Mexican-American neighborhood; the other was in the southeast Heights, a middle class neighborhood with a largely Anglo population. Through the classrooms observed were average ones, there were noticeable differences in the achievement levels of the students; reading and math skills were more advanced than in the Mexican-American school. There also was great variety in teaching style among the four teachers. In each of the schools one teacher maintained a traditionally teacher-centered classroom with standard text materials while the other could be termed more "open" and flexible. In the Mexican-American school, the open teacher had eliminated desks, developed interest centers, and individualized most of her instruction.

Intensive classroom observation was employed over a period of

ten months. At least half the observation time involved the researcher's presence in the classroom for the entire school day; the remainder was done in three to four hour blocks. A total of thirty-five in-classroom hours of observation was compiled for each teacher. Data included interviews with teachers on their teaching goals, a questionnaire to students on the norms they perceived their teachers to emphasize, and hand-recorded chronicles of teacher behavior. These encompassed what the teachers said and did as well as the duration of specific classroom activities. Appendix B includes a sample of the teacher chronicles. The chronicles were then coded according to the list in Appendix A to determine the frequency of behavior which reinforced the work ethic norms. Frequencies of norm reinforcing behavior were calculated as percentages of the total amount of teacher behavior coded; time spent in various activities was determined from the notations made in the teacher chronicles.

Teachers and the Work Ethic

At first glance, the teachers looked quite different. Analysis of the things they said and did, however, indicated that they shared certain commonalities in behavior. Differences came from each teacher's unique enactment of her role. The similarities centered around classroom management and related to the tasks and structure of public schools. This was because teachers are expected to elicit certain performances from children, must manage a large number of children, and have limited resources of time and space in which to do their job.

For the purposes of this study, I termed areas of differences a discretionary area, which expressed a teacher's personal beliefs and idiosyncracies. The area of similarity I termed the "management core"

because it dealt with matters of classroom management and institution maintenance. It was of crucial interest to the study because it did not seem to vary among teachers; it consisted of a group of behaviors which reinforced the work norms outlined above, and it comprised a very large portion of the behavior coded for each teacher, regardless of her teaching style. Table One shows the behavior which comprised the management core, the norms they seemed to reinforce, and the percentages of coded behavior for each of the four teachers.

Table One is interesting both for what it included and what it omits. First, neither achievement behavior nor the autonomy dimensions of responsibility appeared in the management core. This meant that while some of the teachers heavily emphasized achievement and competition or autonomy, not all did. These two norms, then, fell into the discretionary area. Second, Table One makes it clear that well over fifty per cent of the non-instructional verbal and quasi-verbal behavior of the four teachers was managerial, such that children received a very heavy dose of teacher behavior emphasizing work norms relating to acceptance of authority, orderliness, keeping busy, and following the schedule.

The question raised, then, was why did four teachers with very different philosophies of teaching and very different classroom environments have in common "school-keeping" behavior which told children to sit down, shut up, obey the teacher, and get their work done on time?

Note: Of concern in this study was behavior whose percentage exceeded 2% of the total behavior coded. Discretionary behavior, then, was that behavior used 2% or more of the time by a teacher, but not shared by all four teachers. Management core behavior was that behavior which exceeded 2% and was shared by all four teachers.

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TABLE 1

Management Core Behavior

Norm	Behavior	Behavior % Teacher A	Behavior % Teacher B	Behavior % Teacher C	Behavior % Teacher D
Acceptance of authority	a) statements spelling out teacher rules and expectations	16 (n=124)	9 (n=68)	18 (n=167)	16 (n=120)
	b) reprimands	6 (n=51)	10 (n=69)	19 (n=87)	9 (n=62)
Orderliness	statements limiting movement & talking	10 (n=75)	10 (n=70)	6 (n=56)	3 (n=94)
Task orientation	c) dispatching orders	5 (n=41)	7 (n=49)	6 (n=50)	7 (n=49)
	d) get-moving statements	4 (n=32)	3 (n=58)	3 (n=50)	8 (n=60)
Time orientation	statements signalling beginnings and endings of activities	13 (n=102)	10 (n=67)	12 (n=106)	10 (n=73)
Total management core behavior		54 (n=425)	53 (n=381)	53 (n=496	62 (n=458)
Total behavior coded		n=792	n=707	n=906	n=724

Note: Reprimands were seen as authority reinforcing, although it is they also can reinforce other norms as well

It seemed to me that the split between discretionary behavior and management core behavior could be looked at in terms of Getzels' and Guba's normative and idiographic dimensions of social behavior. (Getzels,et.al., 1968) The normative, or nomothetic dimension of behavior consists in that behavior determined by individual needs and beliefs. Normative behavior is required of individuals because of institutional survival needs. The commonality in behavior seemed to be explained by the fact that teachers had no choice whether or not to employ management behavior. They could not do their jobs, given the existing organization of public schools, without it. The behavior contained in the management core simply was that used most commonly. Put another way, teachers could omit autonomy training and possibly achievement scores and still live within something resembling a clsssroom. They could not dispense with order, authority, tasks, or schedules. They needed at least some minimal emphasis on the work ethic to do their job. Students also needed to learn a work ethic in order to get along in school, because a child who failed deportment or who was unmanageable failed as surely as one who could not read.

There were, however, substantial differences in the overall amount of managerial behavior used by teachers. While all of the teachers devoted over fifty percent of their energy to the management core, the discretionary behavior of two of the teachers consisted of other kinds of managerial behavior, while the other two emphasized autonomy. Table Two displays the discretionary behavior used by each teacher. Thus, the former two teachers placed far

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Table 2

Discretionary Behavior (Percentages)

	Management Behavior	Achievement & Competition	Autonomy and Decision-making
Teacher A	1. Performance standards expressed in terms of teacher preferences (3.0) 2. Lectures on difference between work and play (2.5) 3. Citing activities as inappropriate for a given time (2.3)		1. Opportunities for children to organize their own activities (5.0) 2. Explaining and clarifying school rules & policies (4.0) 3. Opportunities for children to initiate topics of discussion (4.0) 4. Presentation of teacher's value convictions (4.0)
Teacher B	1. Statements reminding student of deadlines (6.8) 2. Preparatory rituals signalling beginnings and endings of activities (4.0) 3. Interfering with a child's initiative or humiliating or embarrassing a child (2.4) 4. Statements alluding to teacher's "hidden agenda" (2.0)	1. Building competition in question and answer sessions (3.5)	
Teacher C	1. Preparatory rituals signalling beginning or ending of activities (3.9) 2. Statements reminding students of deadlines (3.5) 3. Interfering with a child's iniatives; humiliating or embarrassing a child (3.0) 4. Hurry-up comments, rusing (2.5)	1. Building competition in question and answer sessions (3.5) 2. Reprimands for bad work or for not knowing an answer (3.0) 3. Publicly praising a child for quality of work (2.3)	1. Opportunities for children to initiate topics for discussion (2.6)
Teacher D	1. Statements reminding students of deadlines (5.0) 2. Reprimands for not working (2.8) 3. Schedules and agendas displayed on the blackboard (2.5)		1. Opportunities for children to organize their own activities (3.6) 2. Explaining & clarifying school rules & policies (2.6)

Note: Frequencies for each behavior are expressed in percentages of the total coded behavior for each teacher.

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greater stress on work norms than the latter. Heavy emphasis on management also accompanied a focus on competition and achievement, as Table Two indicates. In terms of this study, teacher behavior can be schematized as illustrated in Figure I. All of the teachers utilized Area A behavior. Therefore, all of the teachers emphasized the work ethic, as defined in this study. Some teachers, however, were organizationally oriented; their behavior encompassed Areas A and C. Others whose behavior was more flexible fell into Areas A and B, and stressed non-managerial norms (e.g., autonomy) as well.

Classroom Activities

The distribution of classroom activities supported the importance of the management core, as well as high-lighting a sixth norm which public schools emphasize - the virtue of solitary work. One might call this independence, except that it does not include the capacity for making decisions on one's own.

Classroom activities were broken down into thirteen categories, which were then subsumed under three wider headings -- Solitary Activities, Interactive Activities, and Maintenance Activities. Table Three illustrates the distribution for each teacher. Solitary Activities meant that the children did not interact with their peers, worked alone, and spoke infrequently with the teacher. Seatwork was the dominant activity in this category. Interactive Activities required some sort of response or activity of the child; discussion, checking papers, working at the board, or reading aloud all fell into this category. Maintenance Activities consisted of settling down and getting

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Figure I

Three Areas of Teacher Behavior

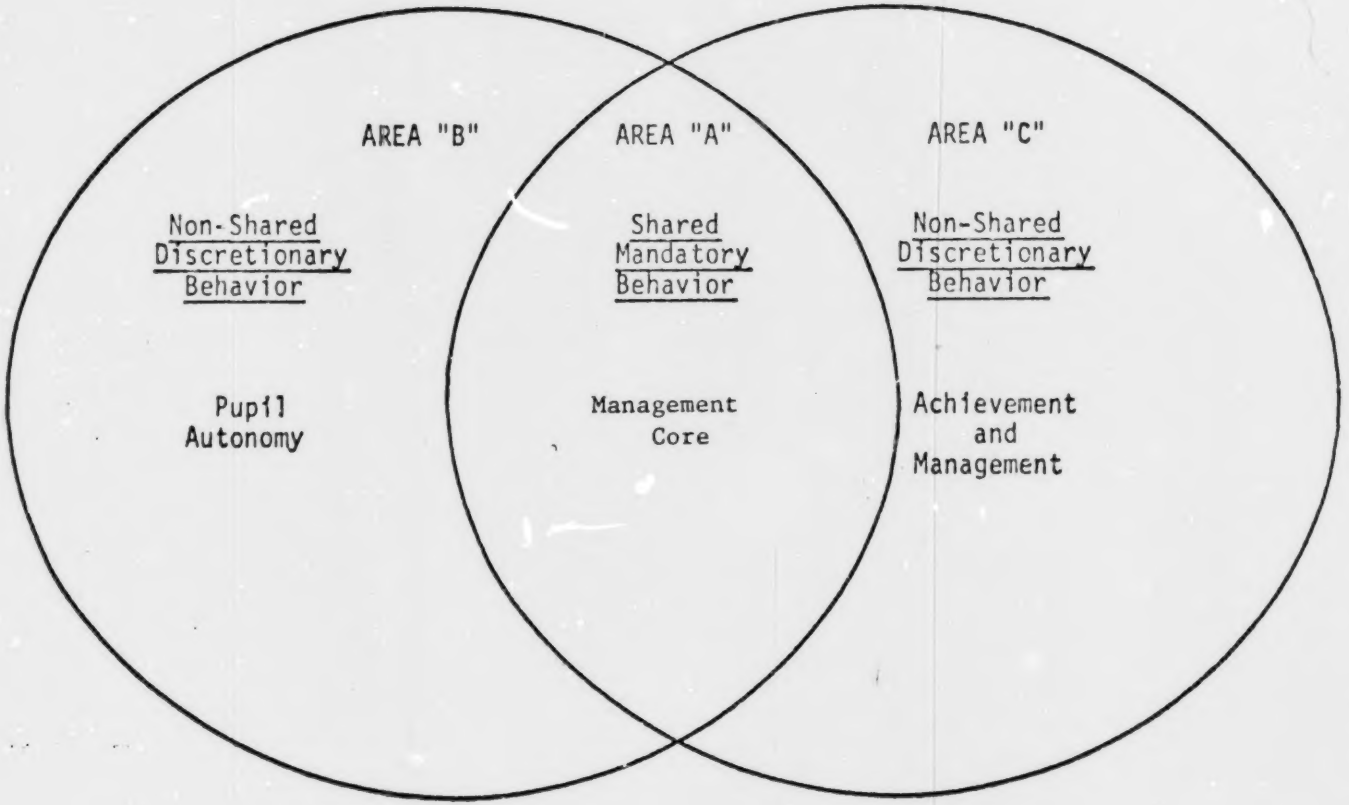

TABLE 3

SUMMARY OF TIME ALLOCATIONS
FOR GIVEN ACTIVITIES

	Teacher A	Teacher B	Teacher C	Teacher D
Solitary Activities	42	53	30	48
Maintenance Activities	25	19	20	21
Interactive Activities	21	18	38	20

NOTE: Time is expressed in percentages of the total amount of observed time spent in these activities.

organized, and included all those times when the teacher engaged in the classroom mamagement necessary to keep the day moving smoothly and work in progress. Maintenance Activities were distributed evenly among the four teachers; the percentage of time in maintenance ranged from a high of twenty-five percent for the open classroom teacher to a low of 19 percent for the most traditional teacher. Thus, it appeared that there was not only a mandatory core of institution-related behaviors, but a threshold amount of maintenance activity below which even open classroom teachers cannot go. Maintenance also appeared to be the most important time for emitting norm-reinforcing behaviors; more of this behavior was found during those activities than any others, even though it did not consitiute the activity upon which most time was spent.

Another interesting finding is that the solitary category comprised about 43 per cent of the total activity time during the day for all teachers. Although the totals for individual teachers varied from this somewhat, the high percentages of time children spent working alone seem to confirm that school is a place where people begin to learn to be "alone in a crowd", or to accomplish work in a crowded, public place. It seems to reflect a societal belief in the value of being on one's own, being independent, and of engaging in individual, rather than collective, effort. This, too, is a part of the hidden curriculum; it says not only "keep busy", but do so in certain ways.

The way teachers allocated their time in school seemed to be

related to the kinds of norm reinforcing behaviors they used. The more traditional and oriented to institution maintenance and management a teacher was, the less actual time she had to spend in getting children settled down and organized. Similarly, the less traditional a teacher was, the more time she had to spend in Maintenances Activities, but the less time the children spent in Solitary Activities.

Summary and Conclusions

This study made two major contributions. First, it is one of the few which has used observational techniques to examine what is done in the schools; and second, it suggested an area of specialization for the school in the socialization process. This is, of course, socialization to the world of work. More important, the study indicated how this part of the socialization process takes place by developing an inventory of teacher behavior which transmitted the norms under consideration.

Aside from the existence of norm-reinforcing behavior, the study indicated a number of things about the way such behaviors are distributed. First, behaviors representing all but one of the work norms accounted for over fifty percent of the non-instructional talking emitted by teachers, despite their very great variations in teaching style. There were the task, order, time, and authority norms. I felt that these behaviors were rooted in the institutional requirements of school life and thus could not be circumnavigated by teachers. I felt that it was through these behaviors that children learned skills which would enable them to

function in other work situations.

The fifth norm, achievement, was not stressed equally by the four teachers, although the children all expressed high agreement that it was crucial to life in school. I felt that this variation existed for two reasons. First, teachers are too close to their students not to feel ambivalent about evaluating them wholly by universalistic criteria, so they invent substitutes, like "working hard". Second, while deviation from the first three norms has immediate effect upon the comfort of the rest of the school, achievement does not; the teacher has more latitude in this area because it is not so public. A sixth norm, working alone, was expressed in the heavy emphasis on individual seat-work imposed by all four teachers.

Another important finding was that the majority of institution maintenance behaviors was emitted during two classroom activities -- "Getting Organized" and "Settling Down." This suggests that these activities are functional prerequisites for others -- that is, children cannot learn to read and do math until they are quiet, on time, and attending to the teacher's directions.

This study also discussed differences in teacher style. The data suggested that once the core area of mandatory behavior is taken as given, examination of the teacher's personal values can be used to develop a typology of teaching style. This might be called a typology of the idiographic dimensions of teacher behavior. It suggested that the discretionary "free space" which teachers have

is used in different ways; in my sample, two teachers used it to stress institution maintenance and achievement. A larger study would probably indicate further idiographic dimensions, and might also indicate how much institution maintenance was really necessary.

This study applies only to four teachers, and there may be other work norms as well and non-work norms taught in schools. But it does raise some important questions about teacher behavior which warrant further study. First, if the distribution of behavior in a larger sample of teachers is the same as that found in this study, an important segment of the hidden curriculum will have been delineated. The limits of change in schools will also be spelled out, because if institution maintenance behaviors are indeed structural requisites, eliminating them altogether may be impossible. On the other hand, if they are not requisites, but are only a product of traditional practice, then the way may be paved for more widespread reform of school management.

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Time

T1A--Visual schedules displayed, notes or reminders for kid's appointments written on the board; reminders of special classes; writing the assignments on the board; putting up clock faces or other reminders of when to do things.

T1B--Cutting off an activity whether it's finished or not because of the schedule. Ex. children aren't finished with an activity but the teacher tells them to put things away and start something else, or stop what they are doing and do something else; or bell rings and teacher comments about "not being finished but we have to go," or talks of interruptions "messing up the schedule," or things being disorganized. Citing things which disrupt the smooth flow of the schedule.

T1C--Preparatory rituals which signal a new activity or emphasize the schedule. Ex: teacher tells children to line up, or fold their hands and get ready, or straighten their desks each day at the same time so they know it signals something new, or they do so without being told because of past habituation. Its primary purpose is getting ready to do something else.

T2A--Statements signaling the end of one activity and the beginning of another, or telling when something will be done. Ex: statements link "Now put your books away." "Take out your spellers." "Let's do reading now." "It's time for recess." "Tomorrow we'll do a story." "This afternoon we have three things to do, ___, ___, and ___."

T2B--Hurrying up, rushing. Statements which simply tell a child to hurry up, and which aren't necessarily related to a specific work; they only mean move faster. Ex: "Come on, let's go. Hurry up."

T2C--Non-judgmental comments about being late. Ex.: teacher notices that a child, or his work, is late, but doesn't scold him for it. Or, notices that the class is late, e.g., "We're late getting started today, so let's get out our readers and begin." Code T2C, T2A.

T2D--Citing activities as inappropriate for the time they are being engaged in. Ex: Telling a child or group of children that they should not be doing what they are doing at that particular time. "Put the clay away; this is study time." or, "Don't work on your reading now, I want you to study spelling." It most frequently refers to an attempt of the child to play or talk during work time or do something noisy during quiet time or story-telling.

T2E--Statements reminding students of emphasized deadlines, or when things are due, or are expected to be finished. Reminders, like, "Are you finished," or queries about "If you are finished, then you can . . ."

T3A--Punishments or reprimands for being late, either handing in work late or coming in late.

T3B--Making time a punishment by shifting the schedule, holding kids over for recess, not letting them go until they are quiet, even if the bell has rung.

T3C--Speaking of time as a commodity. Ex: "Spend five minutes on this." "Time goes fast if you use it wisely." "I'll give you time for that." "You have so much time to do your spelling."

Work

W1B--Dispatching--teacher gives short commands, telling individual children or small groups what to do. They don't involve explanations, just orders, given assignments, passing papers with instructions. Ex: "John, finish page three, Mary get your reading book out and do lesson four." "Susie, if you're finished with spelling, do your workbook."

W2A--Get-moving, get-to-work comments. Comments designed to make a child start working immediately or work harder or faster on what he's doing. They are aimed at the accomplishment of a specific activity, or some kind of work. Ex: "George, do you have nothing to do?" "Come on, you have work to do." "What <u>are</u> you doing? Get moving!"

W2B--Moral lectures--on the distinction between work and play, on the necessity of work in school. Ex: suggesting that school is a place where it is necessary to work, as opposed to play, suggesting that the kids can or should accomplish a great deal in a given period of time by working hard. It is not used as a reprimand, though it may follow one. Ex: "We have work to do today." "That was fun, but now we have to do some work." "Boys and girls, it's time to stop playing around and get some work done."

W2D--Descriptive comments that a person is working, meant to encourage others to do so. Ex: "I see that Mary is hard at work." "George is doing his spelling--implying that others should do so. "Larry wants to work, how about you?"

W3A--Detention for not working--staying after school or recess.

W3B--Isolation for not working--making a child sit by himself or threatening to do so.

W3C--Reprimand to individual or group for not working, or for playing.

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Achievement

A1A--Time tests, teacher gives the children a limited amount of time in which to accomplish a task.

A1C--Competition, building competitive anxiety in question and answer sessions. Children vie frantically with one another to be called upon. Teacher calls on those who don't have hands up, or waits for a while to see how many hands go up before calling on anyone. A tremendous amount of frustration gets expressed and the kids seem desperate to have the teacher notice them.

A1D--Emphasizing that grades will be given. "I'm going to check those." "No, we won't check this paper but we'll record the grades on tomorrow's."

A3A--Putting marks on charts which indicate one's grades. Each time the teacher put up names or grades on the blackboard indicating how well children had done, or gave them stars to put on a chart, etc.

A3B--Oral recitation of grades by childrenor teacher. Children read off their grades to the teacher, or recite them back for recording, or teacher reads off the grades publicly.

A3C--Publicly singling out a child because his work is good, praising him. Singling out a child as a good example of schoolwork, doing it for others to hear.

A4 --Reprimanding a child for poor work; using grades as a sanction. Lowering a child's grade for a punishment. Reprimanding a child for not knowing an answer.

A5 --Speaking privately to a child about the quality of his work so that others can't hear--either at the child's desk or the teacher's.

A6 --Spelling out criteria for grades, telling children what they have to do in order to get a given grade. Explicitly spelling out performance criteria. "I took off ___ for."

Responsibility

R1A--Statements which tell children what the teacher wants, what her expectations for behavior are. What she wants to happen or for the children to do; it can be a "don't," but without the sting of a reprimand--it is simply spelling out policy. Ex: "While I'm gone, I want you to behave." "I know you know what to do, so do it."

R1B--Interfering with children's initiative, not responding to children's needs, frustrating or embarrassing them. Ex: Not letting children work together. Not responding to their questions or putting them off. Publicly embarrassing them. Overriding class decisions, like the results of elections. Ignoring a child's answers. Not getting to the bottom of squabbles and glossing over them.

R1C--Appeals to higher authority. Ex: "If you don't behave, I'll tell the principal." or hints at parental involvement like "Do you want me to send this paper home?" "What would your mother say about this?" "What's the matter with you--I'm calling your parents." (R2G, R1C)

R2A--Rituals which are order-producing--specifically aimed at quieting kids down. Like a code word which means "I'm at the end of my patience, shut up." Making children put their heads on their desks. Turning off the lights till it gets quiet.

R2B--Stating rules or performance standards as personal desires or preferences of the teacher. Telling the kids she likes what a particular student is doing, implying that everybody else should do likewise. Ex: "I like the way Mary is sitting so quietly."

R2C--Statements setting limits on talking or moving. Verbally telling children to stop talking, stop doing what they are doing, stop walking around, be quiet.

R2D--Using spelling words or practice sentences as a means for emphasizing behavioral rules or preferences teacher has for student behavior.

R2E--Confiscation of a child or his property. Sending a child out of the room or taking his property away from him and giving it back, also threatening to do the same.

R2F--Preventive Maintenance--The teacher foresees a behavior problem and acts to stop it before it starts. That is, keeps a boy known for talking from sitting with his friend, or moves the student's desks farther apart so they won't be "tempted to talk."

R2G--Reprimand for not behaving. A "don't" or disapproval from the teacher of any act done by a student of hers, like not paying attention, or a question in dictating disapproval like "What are you doing? (for Pete's sake, cut it out!)" An exception would be a reprimand for poor academic work, (A4), though this could be combined with a reprimand.

R2H--Punishments which reduce freedom or fun. Taking away some kind of free time or fun time, as a punishment. Not letting kids use some materials they like because they have "abused" the privileges; taking away recess or part of lunch hour; giving them busy work or more structure and boring work as a punishment.

R3 --Statements emphasizing adult behavior as a desirable standard. Ex: "Grow up," "Act your age." "You don't want people to think you are a third grader." Comments about the "age appropriateness" of a given behavior.

R4A--Statements emphasizing a kind of deal, or reciprocal relationship between the teacher and students. The teacher promises to do something for kids in return for some action of theirs, or kids remind teacher of something she has promised to do for them and which she carries through for them. "If you do this, I'll do that." Statements expressing a person's responsibility and accountability in his behavior. "If you drop it, you clean it up."

R4B--Explaining and clarifying policies, relationships, problem encountered. The teacher explains why things have to be done in a certain way, especially school rules and policies, or tries to help children understand the dynamics of their fights or interpersonal problems. It can be empathy training, in how other people feel or why things are the way they are, not just a simple "do it or else."

R5A--Opportunities for the child to organize his own activities, schedule, or to do things oneself. Times when a child or children aren't doing specific assigned work and can do their own thing. Or, can do their assigned work on whatever schedule they want, with free time in between. I tried to code this each time it became possible for a few children to have such opportunities. When it wasn't so possible, I coded on time intervals of five minutes.

R5B--Opportunities to initiate topics of discussion--when a child initiates a topic of discussion and the teacher allows it and picks up on it. Or when a child suggests an alternate answer to a question and the teacher allows it.

6 --Presentation of the teacher's own values. Things she has political or emotional or moral attachment to and presents to students.

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9:06	T2A	(T2A) "OK, now let's start." (Todd comes up and gives her a nickel.) "OK, now here's our new work for the day. What is it?" (she writes it on the board.) "Bazaar." She writes bizarre and bazaar on the board, explains the differences. Goes through sentences using bizarre to illustrate bizarre things.
discussion		
9:10	T2A	(T2A) "OK, I would like you to pay attention. We've had some problems with money. What's a dollar sign?" (children shout the answer. She explains how to read numbers as money.) "Now, I want you to pretend you just bought a house. Now, you gotta be careful because houses cost lots of money." (writes, $2856000 on the board. Larry volunteers the decimal placement.) "Darn, I couldn't fool you. Let's see if I can fool this young man." (does another. He gets it right.) "Who wants a more expensive house--Bernie?" (does another) "Let's see I haven't heard from some of these girls. Aila, that's what I spent at the grocery store." (does another)
explication		
9:15		"Decimal points are very important when we are writing money numbers." (She demonstrates how to add with decimals by using money numbers. She adds them wrong so that the children can correct them--calling out corrections from the classroom). "One way to help yourself, people, is to make sure all your dots line up. (R1A) All right, bodys and girls, when you get your answers, be sure to put decimal points in."
9:20	R1A	
	T2A	(T2A)"OK, everybody, a pencil and paper. We're going to do some problems." (comes over to me and tells me that it isn't what she'd planned to do but that it was a good introduction into decimals and that they needed the practice in this.)
getting organized		
getting organized	A6	(A6) Remember two things. It's very important if you want a hundred--dollar signs and decimal points. (T3C) I'll give you 15 minutes to do these. (T2A) OK, are we ready to start? (W1B) When we finish this, work on contracts--your math contracts. If you don't have one, we'll have a conference and make up one for you. OK, here
9:24	T3C	
	T2A	
	W1B	